361 Outside the walls of Shibam in the rich man's suburb of Seheil
342 there are villas, some of them built in East Indian style but none
177 of them as big as those in the city. Several houses in these Hadhramaut towns are provided with most attractive and welcome swimming pools in which the water is usually kept running by means of small petrol engines.

342 The general principles of house construction seem to be pretty much the same all over the upper Hadhramaut, but it is really only in the main Wadi that elaborate structures are found. Apart from the *dars* in which many of the tribesmen live, and which leave much to be desired from the standpoint of hygiene, it may be interesting to record that in one Wadi through which we travelled, to the north of the main Wadi towards the desert, I found troglodyte Beduins living in caves in the walls of the Wadi. The front of these caves was usually built up with dry stone walling, leaving only a small gap for the entrance of man and beast. Down the Wadi Maseila between Qabr Hud and the sea the Manahil and the Mahra live in huts built of sticks not more than five feet high. In two villages on the Mahra coast many of the inhabitants lived in tents of matting.

Wages and Cost of Living in the Towns.

000 The manner of living adopted by the wealthy of the Hadhramaut and by the tribesmen is sufficiently indicated in other parts of this report. The following notes give an indication of the condition of the wage-earning classes in the towns.

511 For labourers the cost of living is said to be cheaper in Mukalla
435 than in Aden. Firewood and water are free, and there is nothing to pay in the way of ground rent. Rents are very low; as an example, a large building of five storeys costing Rs.15,000 to build would not fetch Rs.20 a month in rent. There is no tax
651 on property. The people in the towns pay their tithes straight to
735 the poor and not to Government.

465 Masons and carpenters receive a rupee and a-half a day, and
435 their assistants nine to ten annas. Labourers generally receive from nine to twelve annas a day. Coolies on ships are paid twelve annas and food. In Mukalla, porters receive from one pice to two annas a load according to distance. From the Customs to the western gate of the town (just over a mile) is two annas, but most carries are those earning two or three pice. The price paid for carrying water to houses from the public fountains attached to the town water-supply of Mukalla is two pice a tin and three pice for two tins.

In Kanina, Hajr province, masons receive a rupee a day, and their assistants five annas. Carpenters are paid by piece work. Three pice is paid for carrying one load of water on donkey back from below the town. Field labourers are paid five dollars and food a month or by piece work.

at intervals of some 20 feet a series of shafts similar to those described in connection with the Mukalla water-supply. Humat al Harth is temporarily not giving water, as the level has fallen below the channel. At Al Quf itself there are a number of wells, and round each are nursery beds where the tobacco seedlings are grown. The beds are divided into patches three or four feet square and the seed close sown, so close that even where seed does not germinate the workers cut small scratches in the ground and plant fresh seed. When the seedlings are grown to a height of about three or four inches they are taken from Al Quf to Al Harth, about a mile and a-half away, and planted out in rows with intervals of a foot, or three-quarters of a *dhirra*, in beds of a size dependent on the amount of water. A bed is called *mutr*, plural *mutira*, and each is surrounded by a ridge to keep in the irrigation water. In due course the crop is gathered and dried. Drying barns are unknown.

The crop[1] is financed by the merchants who advance the money to the cultivators and are paid back either monthly or after the crop. In the case of the Government lands at Gheil some cultivators pay their rent in advance and some after the crop. The rent of the whole area of the Sultan's land at Gheil is assessed before each season and the figure required communicated to his representative there. This official then rents out the land at a figure per acre based on the total sum required.

The total annual value of the crop is now estimated at five lakhs of which the Sultan receives Rs.120,000 in duty and ground rent. Production costs are estimated at three lakhs, so that the profit to the cultivators is Rs.80,000. In order to foster the local consumption of tobacco, there is a monopoly of imported cigarettes and pipe tobacco.

Of tobacco, Mr. H. M. Heald in his report of the Agricultural Mission to Mukalla says that in the Meifa valley " the cultivation of the tobacco received more attention than any other crop. . . . The seed was sown in a small plot of land which, in the large villages, had been heavily manured with sheep dung mixed with fine earth. [241] When 40 days old the plants were transplanted into the small beds at distances of one foot apart, and again manured with fish; irrigation varied in the villages but generally every seven days.

" Topping of the terminal buds took place after all the leaves had been formed and the plants were ripe for cutting in four or five months, according to district and season. The plants were dried on the ground first singly and then in small bundles, and afterwards hung up in rows. After drying again in bundles, they were covered with sacks to promote fermentation, and then the plants were taken into the houses for further drying in the dark, and ready for transporting to the coast in a week or so. Practically no grading was done . . . and I am sure " he writes, " better prices would be obtained if more attention were paid to selection."

[1] [Tobacco -- Analyst]

715 and is offered for sale at Al Ghurfa. It has yet, presumably, other chances of featuring in small wars up or down the valley.

[726] 728 669 The situation sounds almost incredible, but the war continued for several years. At last Sultan 'Ali supported by the Al Kaf Seiyids, the strongest influence for peace in Kathīri territory, thought matters had gone far enough, and invited the disputants to Seiyun to conclude a peace. The terms suggested were agreed to on all points except for one requiring Bin 'Abdat to demolish two small forts. The matter appeared to have reached a deadlock when a Seiyid of Aden, of Hadhramaut origin, Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman al Jifri, proceeded to the Hadhramaut and offered his services in the settlement of the trouble. He is a friend of Bin 'Abdat's, and Seiyids 'Abdur Rahman and Bubekr al Kaf sent him to Bin 'Abdat to advise him not to hold out on account of the two small forts. Matters were probably ripe for a settlement as everybody was tired of hostilities, but Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman very creditably brought the feud to a satisfactory conclusion. What was even more satisfactory was that a gathering of more than a hundred representatives of all sections of the Shenafir was held at Seiyun, and Seiyid 'Abdur Rahman succeeded in assisting Sultan 'Ali, backed by the Al Kaf Seiyids, to negotiate a truce between all the Shenafir tribes. This agreement, which takes effect from the 1st of Sha'bān 1353 (9th November 1934) provides for a truce of two years and two months in all matters relating to blood feuds between the various tribes, and gives also a guarantee of five years security for travellers on the routes.

643 186 565 It may thus be that the foundations have now been laid for an era of peace in Kathīri land, and the time seems to be propitious for the establishment of a greater solidarity in Kathīri rule. There are certainly strong elements in favour of peace. Foremost of all is Sultan 'Ali himself. He is a man of culture and very charming personality with that kind of magnetism which inspires instinctive respect and affection. I do not think anybody who has met him can fail to receive the impression that he is a good man in the best sense of the word, nor can anyone who has discussed the situation with him fail to be impressed with the earnestness of his desire for peace. In this desire he is warmly and ably supported by many of the leading families, of whom the most important are the Al Kaf and Saqqaf Seiyids. Although they are Seiyids the measures of reform which these families support are many of them in flagrant opposition to the old conservative policy of the Seiyids, which for long maintained that body as the most powerful and the most desperately retrogressive party in the Hadhramaut. These families have shown that they can still play a very important part in the destinies of the country, and have in fact earned the right to speak in common voice with the Sultan in pressing reforms. It may also be observed that they are the heaviest, as well as the most willing, taxpayers in the country. Their annual contributions on Government and charitable undertakings amount to at least $70,000 a [651] year, without considering special expenditure.

664 other concerning the protection of goods belonging to the sub-
185 jects. There is also a fourth pact wherein Your Highness undertook to take action against any party that should transgress against another party, to punish the offenders, restore looted property, and check the transgressors, according to this treaty, until such time as God wills. This treaty is dated 13th Jumād ath Thani 1842 (1923). It also embodies other conditions which have not been carried into effect.

"A fifth treaty was likewise concluded between Seiyid Hussein bin Hāmid al Mihdhār, representative of the Qu'aiti Government, on the one part, and the Sultan of the Āl Abdulla on the other, on 25th Ramadhan 1344 (1925). Thereafter an agreement was concluded between both the Governments, the Qu'aiti and the Āl 'Abdulla, on the one part, and the Āl 'Awāmir on the other. This pact is dated 12th Rajab 1345 (1926), and in it the Āl 'Awāmir undertook not to interfere with travellers belonging to either Government, or with other travellers, within their respective boundaries, even though they might happen to be in a state of war. This is the sixth pact.

"There is also a seventh treaty between Sultan Salih bin Ghalib bin 'Awadh al Qu'aiti on the one part, and the Sultans of the Āl 'Abdulla on the other. The first Article provides that: 'Both Governments should co-operate to bring about a settlement, and maintain peace and security, and set at rest all agitations and disturbances by any means which will lead to conciliation. In the event of the said measures not being successful they should use all possible power to enforce the same.' In the fourth Article it is laid down that 'Both Governments shall endeavour to take the necessary measures for the security of the routes, and the protection of the poor and others from the effect of the strife and fighting which invariably occur between the tribesmen.'"

The petition bore sixty signatures of the leading inhabitants of the Kathīri part of the valley, and purported to speak on behalf of the "Hadhrami nation". It was addressed to the Qu'aiti and Kathīri Sultans. I do not think that the petition was intended to be on behalf of the inhabitants of the Qu'aiti domain but it was rather directed against the working of Qu'aiti policy *vis à vis* the Kathīri. It was rejected by Sultan 'Umar on the ground that the petitioners were not representative, but it was supported by the Kathīri Sultan.

● 651 As regards taxation, the position is that goods entering the country
653 are taxed at Mukalla. If they are intended for the Kathīri part of the valley they are often taken by sea to Shihr where they are taxed again. None of this money is used in maintaining security on the road from Shihr to Tarim, and none of it is used to improve communications for the people by whom it is paid. The Al Kaf Seiyids have spent $180,000 in attempting to build a Tarim-Shihr

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

car road. The really difficult part of the construction has been completed, from Tarim onwards towards Gheil. Much of the money was paid out to the Beduins, and in particular the Hamumis agreed that the road should be safe. At the request of the Qu'aiti the route of the road was changed as he was afraid that the Hamumis would have increased facilities for movement and raiding. Large sums of money were then disbursed on the Ma'di tribes through whose territory the Qu'aiti asked that the road should go. There is no doubt that the road could have been successfully completed, and the Al Kaf Seiyids were, and still are, willing to bear the whole cost. Sufficient support, however, was not received from the Qu'aitis and the work was stopped by Sultan 'Umar.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE QU'AITI STATE.

Mukalla is the seat of Government of the Qu'aiti state. His Highness the Sultan, who is an absolute monarch in so far as the internal affairs of his state are concerned, has his principal palace there. The old palace of the Kasadis near the Customs in the centre of the old part of the town has now been turned into Government offices where the *Wazir* and other officials are in daily attendance.

The *Wazir* has a general superintendence over all departments of Government and presides over the *Wazir's* Court (*Hakm ad Dola.*) He is also the Governor of the Mukalla Province. The Treasurer superintends the schools, the dispensary, the passport work, and registration of sales and transfers of land. He sees to all disbursements on behalf of the state and collects certain of the internal revenue. The Mukalla Customs, which were formerly farmed, as the Shihr and other customs still are, is a Government department with a paid staff. The Chief of Customs also superintends the work of the port, though there is a special shipping clerk who prepares shipping papers for the *Wazir's* signature, and there are the usual manifest clerks employed by the Customs. The Commander of the Forces, who is more of a Minister for War, also controls the prison. The uniformed police are under the command of a Shaush, and the slave police are under a slave who is also the police magistrate. The medical officer has charge of the dispensary and in addition performs port health work. He is assisted by a qualified compounder who also has certain municipal duties.

As examples of the monthly salaries paid to officials of the Qu'aiti state, the following may be cited: *Wazir*, $1,000; Chief of Customs, Rs.225; Doctor, Rs.200; Treasurer, Rs.100; Commander of the Forces, Rs.100; English Master, Rs.80; State Photographer, Rs.60. Most of the officials are given quarters.

There was at one time a species of State Council in Mukalla, but it was dissolved by the present *Wazir* and a Council of Qadhis instituted instead. The function of this Council is not immediately apparent. At the time of my visit there was some talk

and within the area round them demarcated by white pillars. Any murder or loot in these areas is regarded as an offence against Government. Murderers of Beduins, subjects, soldiers, or slaves, are liable to death in these areas, and apart from restoration of loot, thieves are liable to imprisonment, deportation, or amputation of the hand.[1] If an individual contracts debts with any of the subjects of Government and absconds, the Government arrests any available member of his tribe and forces him to pay the debt. Routes between Qu'aiti towns are also sacrosanct and carriers may not be made the targets of blood feuds on them. The Qu'aiti is enabled to enforce these measures by his control of the ports and important markets.

Government Finance.

The financial year coincides with the Muhammadan year, i.e., it begins with the 1st Muharram and ends with the 29th Dhu'l Hijja. The year 1353 began on the 16th April 1934, and this report must be taken to cover the period up to the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352, i.e., 15th April 1934.

Revenue and Expenditure.

The annual Qu'aiti revenue at present is stated in the annual Aden Administration Report to be Rs.12,50,000 but it appears to me that seven lakhs is a more probable if rather conservative figure. It is based on figures given for Mukalla, Gheil ba Wazir and Shihr (Rs.6,30,000), and on other figures given for the Du'an province and for Shibam. I have no figures for the Hajr province which includes the rich Meifa lands. The excess of revenue over expenditure is said to be about one third.

The expenditure on all public services, except His Highness the Sultan, is said to be Rs.3,00,000 *per annum* in Mukalla and Shihr. His late Highness drew officially Rs.72,000 *per annum* but, I was told, " no one knows what he really spends ". The following are some of the principal items of expenditure :—

Defence. Mukalla only, soldiers and slaves.	Rs.2,04,000 *per annum*. The total is perhaps Rs.2,25,000.
Tribal subsidies	Rs.12,000 *per annum* (formerly Rs.36,000 to 48,000 *per annum*).
Education	Rs.6,000.
Medical and Public Health ...	Rs.5,500.
Customs	Rs.10,000.
Du'an province	$21,000.
Shibam	more than $12,000.

[1] I am told that, as in certain other parts of the Protectorate, this Qu...nic penalty is no longer enforced.

37875 D

[in the Qu'aiti free towns -- Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

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DESCRIPTION OF THE MAIN HEADS OF TAXATION AND THEIR YIELD.

Customs.

Export duties :—

Honey.—Rs. 12,000 *per annum.*

Fish products (exports and imports).—Rs. 4,000 to Rs.5,000 *per annum.*

Tobacco Excise.—Until a year or two ago the collection of excise at Gheil ba Wazir was farmed for $85,000, the equivalent to Rs.1,70,000. The lessee became bankrupt and present revenue is equivalent to Rs.80,000.

Rent of tobacco lands.—Two or three years ago Rs.60,000, present yield Rs.40,000.

Imported tobacco monopoly.—Rs. 1,200 *per annum.*

Internal transit dues on loaded camels, Mukalla and Shihr.—Rs.73,000 to Rs.75,000 *per annum.*

Internal transit dues on loaded camels, Shibam (farmed) $12,000.

Revenues of Du'an province.—$15,000.

Total Receipts.

	Mukalla.		*Shihr*[2].	
1348	Rs. 3,50,000[1]	1348	Rs.	82,000
1349	„ 2,87,000	1349	„	82,000
1350	„ 2,80,000	1350	„	82,000
1351	„ 2,75,000	1351	„	82,000
1352	„ 2,65,000	1352	„	82,000

Notes—[1]. Up to 1348 inclusive the Mukalla Customs were farmed at a yearly rental of Rs. 3,50,000 of which Rs. 50,000 was paid in advance and the rest in twelve equal monthly instalments.

[2]. The Customs at Shihr are farmed. As from 1st Muharram 1353 the rental has been increased to Rs. 11,000 *per mensem* as it was realized that the lessee was making a large profit.

Customs Tariff.

The following shows the rates of duty on the principal imports and exports at Mukalla on the 29th Dhu'l Hijja 1352 :—

Imports.

Foodstuffs.—8 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Other articles.—5 per cent. *ad valorem.*

The following tariff was brought into force on the 1st Muharram 1353 :

Imports.

Foodstuffs, piece-goods, dates, firewood, building wood, passengers' new goods, etc. General rate of 8 per cent. *ad valorem.*

Sugar in addition to *ad valorem* duty of 8 per cent. : Re.1 per cwt. or Rs. 2 per bag.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Ghee : Rs.2 per kerosene tin of 4-gallon capacity. 651

Gingli, ground nut and other oils : Re.1 per kerosene tin of 4 gallon capacity. 489

Kerosene and petrol : Re.1 per case.

Qurans and religious works : free.

Fish products :

Lakhm (dried shark) : 8 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Wasif (dried fish for manure and cattle food) from beyond Qu'aiti dominions (i.e., Mahri coast) : 20 per cent. *ad valorem*.

Sermai (split and salted fish) : 10 per cent. *ad valorem*.

At Shihr there are no specific duties but a uniform *ad valorem* rate of 8 per cent.

Exports.

Honey in comb	Annas 4 per *Qasa* of about 4 lb.
	Annas 8 per *Qasa* of about 7 lb.
Honey, liquid	Rs.8 per case of two tins of about 60 lb. weight (*Sabib*).
Fish products :	
Sifa (Fish oil)	Annas 4 per four-gallon tin.
Safif (dried *tarnak* and *tamad* fish).	Annas 8 per cwt. or Re.1 per case of about 2 cwt.
Rish (shark fins)	Annas 4 per *frasila* of 20 lb.
Lime	Annas 8-12 per bag of three *frasilas*.

Excise Duties.

Hamumi tobacco (Gheil ba Wazir) : Rs. 17 per *bahar* of 300 English pounds.

Hamumi tobacco (other places) : duty farmed.

Wharfage Duties.

On every package imported or exported at Mukalla : Anna 1.

Registration Duties.

On every deed of sale of house property in Mukalla : 6 per cent. of price. 651

Municipal Dues.

Mukalla.

On each shop in bazaar streets, Scavenging tax	As.8 *per mensem*.
On each stall in vegetable market	Rs.5 *per mensem*.

Internal transit dues.

651 *Mukalla and Shihr.*

486 On every loaded camel leaving ... ... Re.1.

On every camel man[1] ... ... As.2.

Shibam.

On every *Bahar* brought in from Qu'aiti ports or territory ... ... $\frac{1}{2}$.

On every *Bahar* from other places in Aden Protectorate or from Yemen ... ... $1\frac{1}{4}$.

Passport Fees (compulsory).

On every passport Rs.2

Photograph by state photographer Rs.3

Defence.

Regular Army.

704 The strength of the regular army is as follows: one Subedar, who apparently knows no drill and only appears in uniform on very special occasions; four Jemadars, of whom two are ex-Yemen Infantry officers, and two are Indians, one of them being a Pathan in command of the artillery; 350 to 400 Yafa'is, and 250 slaves.

The non-commissioned ranks are, Havildar, Naik and Lais Naik. The Yafa'is receive nine dollars a month, and the slaves one to three dollars as pocket-money, but they are much better off than the Yafa'is for they receive regular rations for themselves and every member of their families. They are provided with wives, and given milk, which is scarce, for their wives and children. The 702 cadet corps, already referred to, ensures a constant supply of disciplined recruits.

713 The force is armed with every sort of rifle, but principally Martini Henrys. They are said to keep them perfectly clean inside and out. There is a "range" behind the town. The regulars 714 are all provided with a khaki uniform, shirt and shorts, and a 708 red fez, but the uniform is not worn except by the guards at the palace and on special occasions. There are said to be parades every 533 two days. There is a band consisting of 14 who wear khaki uniforms and scarlet glengarries. The regulars for the most part are stationed in Mukalla, but there are a few in Shihr and Reida.

Irregulars.

704 There are said to be 1,000 to 1,200 irregulars officered by eleven 701 *Muqaddams* who receive 35 to 40 dollars a month. Each *Muqaddam* has a paid *Muawin* who receives 20 to 25 dollars, and each man is said to receive seven dollars a month. They are stationed in the districts. In Shibam there are 40 Yafa'is and 60 slaves. There are about 500 Yafa'is in the neighbourhood of Shibam who are [635] paid but allowed to work their own fields. The Sultan's representative in the Shibam province is in command of the troops.

[1] Members of certain tribes are exempted from this tax.

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

AL HEIK.

619 631 101 A small nomad tribe, allied to the Seibani, and living near the sea-coast close to Shiheir. With the 'Akābira and the Beni Hasan they were neighbours of the Kasadi on the east. Their chief occupation is hiring camels for the transport of goods from Shihr, Shibeir, and Mukalla to the interior. They have an 'Amūdi *mansab* and are said to be in the pay of the Qu'aitis.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE PROVINCES OF THE QU'AITI STATE (continued).

3. DU'AN PROVINCE.

635 The Du'an province is defined as containing the towns and villages in the Wadis Du'an and Leisar as far as and including Hajarein. The Governors of the province are also responsible for the safety of the caravan route to Mukalla from the Wadi Himem upwards. The capital of the province is 'Aura in the Wadi Du'an, and the upper part known as Masna'at al 'Aura is entirely occupied by the Governors' castle. For practical purposes 'Aura, Rashid and Khoreiba are one. The co-Governors of the province are Sheikh Muhammad bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra and Sheikh Ahmed bin 'Umar bin Ahmed Bā Surra.

361 933 438 Du'an is a fairly important caravan centre but lies off the direct route to Shibam. It is heavily cultivated in the upper part of the Wadi, but its production does not suffice for the needs of the inhabitants. It is the seat of an important honey industry. The landing-ground for Du'an is at Qā' Bā Nūā, which is about an hour's march from the top of the wadi wall; the descent takes an hour and a-half.

651 465 The total revenue and dues of Wadi Du'an were returned to me as being $5,800, and those of Wadi Leisar, derived from dues at fairs and upon palm trees, at $9,200. The total expenditure in salaries of the sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers, together with customary gifts, is returned at $21,000. The total number of sheikhs, tribesmen and soldiers receiving salaries is said to be 280.

635 162 361 651 652 The Qu'aiti Government gave me the figure of 50,000 as being an estimate of the population of Du'an province, but the figures appearing in the following statement regarding the towns and villages in the province were given by the Governors. These towns and villages are under the authority of the Governors of Du'an, and

635 most of them are exempted from taxation: Al Qurha, estimated
162 number of men 300, estimated number of rifles 50, the inhabitants
are tribesmen. Husn Bā Sam, men 150, rifles 25, tribesmen. Ar
361 Rubāt, men 800, rifles 100, revenue $1,600, expenditure $1,800; the
651 inhabitants are soldiers. Al Qarn, men 500, rifles 100, inhabitants
652 are tribesmen of Bā Hakīm, a clan of the Nūwah. Al Khoreiba,
men 1,500, rifles 50, revenue $1,500, expenditure $1,800,
inhabitants are soldiers and sheikhs. Sharq, men 300, rifles 50,
revenue $300, expenditure $360, tribesmen and soldiers. Ar
Rashīd, men 400, rifles 150, revenue $1,200, expenditure $1,400,
tribesmen. 'Aura, men 80, revenue $400. Al Qurein, men 800,
rifles 10, revenue $200, expenditure $600.

631 The following towns and villages are under the authority of the
361 Mihdhār family, and the Government derives no revenue from them.
651 Their annual produce is valued at approximately $10,000: Al
Quweira, men 400. Halibūn, men 80. Rihāb, men 400, rifles 30.
162 Hudūn, men 200, rifles 50. Khasūfar, men 100. Dhāhir, men
300, rifles 15. Matrūh, men 250, rifles 30. Al Jubeil, men 400,
rifles 100. Quweirat al Khozab, men 25. Gheil Bal Kheir, men 40.

The towns under the authority of the Sheikhs of al 'Amūdi are:
Husn Bā 'Abd as Somad, men 100. Budha, men 1,000, rifles 200.
Bilad al Ma', men 100, rifles 10. Khudeish, men 70, rifles 12.
Qarn Mājid, men 50, rifles 8.

635 The remaining towns of the Wadi Du'an between Al Qurha and
361 Hajarein are again under the direct authority of the Governors of
162 Du'an: Sīf, men 400, rifles 30; Sīf has a garrison of 15 Yafa'is of
whom five live in the Husn ad Dōla and 10 in the town. Those
I saw were all of the Beni Sa'd Lower Yafa'is. Feil, men 30.
Al 'Āddiya, men 30. Ghār as Sūdān, men 30, rifles 5. Nasara,
men 10. Naseira, men 10. Seil'a, men 30, rifles 10. Hajarein,
men 500, rifles 10. There is a garrison of Yafa'is in Hajarein.

The towns and villages of Wadi Leisar included in the Du'an province are: Al 'Arsama, men 500, rifles 20. Al Jahi, men 300, rifles 150. Al 'Ardh, men 40. Al Jadīda, men 150, rifles 10. Ad Dūfa, men 250, rifles 20. Jureif, men 150, rifles 10. Subeikh, men 400, rifles 30. Tūlaba, men 500, rifles 35. Dharī, men 600, rifles 30. Hūfa, men 500, rifles 70. Heid al Jazūl, men 150, rifles 10.

635 The following tribes live in the province or are dependent on the
631 wadi: Seibani and its branches, Deiyin, al Hālka, al Marāshida,
69 Khamikha, Bā Hakīm, Bā Sam, and al 'Amūdi. The Beni Hasan
and the 'Akābira (see Chapter XVI) deal equally with Mukalla
and Du'an. The Hālka and the Marāshida, sometimes considered
as separate tribes, are included with the Seibani, and the Bā Hakīm
and the Bā Sam, also sometimes treated as separate tribes, are
included with the Nūwah (see Chapter XVIII).

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The Kathīris have no organised Governmental institutions in the accepted sense of the word, though the Sultan and his supporters, including the wealthy Seiyids of Tarim and Seiyun, are very anxious for progress. Sultan 'Ali's state income is estimated at $20,000 a year in respect of Seiyun, Taris and Mariama; $6,000 of this is a direct contribution from the Al Kaf Seiyids, and the remainder consists of taxes on dates and on goods entering Seiyun. The whole sum is expended on state services, for Sultan 'Ali has a private income derived from Singapore. He maintains a force consisting of 200 indifferently armed slave soldiers in Seiyun, and 200 in Tarim.

In Tarim the Al Kaf contribute $12,000 a year to the city Treasury. There is a Town Council which organises the local taxation, and thanks to the Al Kaf Seiyids its affairs are said to be run in a very business-like way, for its budget balances. In normal times the political expenditure on maintaining peace between Tarim and the neighbouring tribes is perhaps $4,000 a year, and this is all borne by the Al Kafs. But to this normal expenditure is often added extraordinary expenditure as, for instance, in a case which occurred about May 1934, when Seiyid Bubekr, the second brother of the family, spent $12,000 in settling a dispute between Tarim and the Tamimis.

In Tarim and Seiyun there is a doctor and dispensary, but they are supported by the Seiyids. At the time of my visit, the doctor, a Punjabi, was on leave and such work as was being carried on was being done by a dispenser. No great public use was made of his services. The dispensary costs the Al Kafs about $1,000 a month, and they spend $2,000 a month on charities and roads. As regards their expenditure on communications it should be recorded that they built all the water pools on the caravan route from Tarim to Shihr, that they spent $7,000 on building a pass at Al 'Arsha for caravans, and that Seiyid Bubekr has spent over $180,000 on road making between Tarim and Shihr.

The schools in Kathīri territory are almost entirely supported by the wealthy Seiyids. There are two Ribāts, religious foundations, principally supported by *Waqfs* (religious endowments) for the teaching of religion and philosophy. Of these one is in Seiyun and has an attendance of 40 students, and the other is in Tarim with an attendance of 120. The Saqqaf family of Seiyids maintain two schools in Seiyun, one containing 500 boys and seven teachers, the other 100 boys and four teachers, and the Al Kafs, who also contribute to the Ribāts, run two schools in Tarim. One of these formerly had an attendance of 400 boys but it is now only attended by children of the family, numbering 54. The other, a public school, accommodates between 300 and 400 boys. The Al Kafs also run one if not two schools at Khoreiba in Wadi Du'an in Qu'aiti territory. They are, in fact, the only people undertaking educational activities in a wider sense in that province. I believe, too, that they support the private schools in Mukalla and Shihr.

2:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

the general control of the State Secretary, an Omani Arab borrowed from the Tanganyika Government. Apart from him there were eighteen other non-Hadhrami Arabs and Indians in the administration, mostly doctors, technicians and military officers.

In 1934 on the best figures available the revenue was about Rs. 630,000. For 1944-5 it was estimated at just under Rs. 15,000,000. In 1934 the amount spent on Government services was about 3,010,000 of which 2,025,000 went to Yafa'i Irregulars and slaves. In 1944-5 the expenditure was estimated at just under Rs. 16,000,000. In 1934 the then Sultan put about half the revenue in his pocket and, just before he left for India for the last time before he died, he emptied the till and left the treasurer to borrow from the merchants, so when the first check of Government cash was made on April 1, 1939, there was still a deficit of about Rs. 40,000. On April 1, 1944, there was a credit of over Rs. 14,000,000.

Up to the end of 1936 insecurity was rife all over the country. No one could travel safely without an escort from the tribe through whose territory he moved. In the settled areas many villages were at war with neighbouring villages. In some cases there were elaborate trench systems both for defence and for communication with the fields. It was estimated that the sudden death-rate in the principal part of the Wadi Hadhramaut alone was ten a month. Even the unarmed classes were not infrequently murdered. The worst area was Kathiri Territory, but there were others almost as bad in areas under Qu'aiti influence. The Qu'aiti security forces were really only effective for keeping the bedouins out of the main Qu'aiti towns. They would not have been really effective there if it had not been for humiliating agreements which the Sultan had made with the bedouins that they would not raid within short distances of the towns marked with white boundary posts. The regular forces had been reduced to ceremonial duties only: the power of the State depended on Irregular mercenaries and slaves, and the Sultan was generally at their mercy, his authority depending on being able to play the one off against the other.[1] Early in 1937 a general peace treaty was arranged for three years between all the tribes and tribal sections. To this there were nearly 1,400 signatories which in itself gives an idea of the divided state of the country. In the same year we began the reorganization of the regular forces. In 1940 the truce ran out: an extension for ten years was proclaimed and for the most part loyally adhered to, but a good deal of tribal trouble recurred and the local forces were not yet sufficient in numbers or skill to keep order everywhere. Trouble gradually lessened and in 1944 the Qu'aiti State was paying over four lakhs of rupees for armed and police forces which on the whole kept order and peace very well. Incidents during 1944 were very few.

The bedouin today has a real confidence in the Qu'aiti Government.

[1] About the last official trace of slavery disappeared in 1944 when the State slaves were freed. Many of them were enlisted in a new African Company and the old ones were pensioned off.

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut NM2

tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

6: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators.

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate.

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres.

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the unchockable expansion of these feuds due to

9. Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

its own language, and in its trade, which is dhow-borne, unlike that of Mukalla, which is largely steamer-borne in normal times, it deals with Muscat, the Persian Gulf and India, and to some extent with East Africa, for the coastal Mahris are great seafarers. The Mahris, unlike the Hadhramis, do not settle abroad, so by reason of their habits and their speech they are an even more exclusive and secluded people than the Hadhramis. But in effect little is seen or heard of the Mahris, and their territory is considered part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate, and they have their contacts with His Majesty's Government through the Residency at Mukalla.

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The Western Aden Protectorate

To me the outstanding features of the political set-up of the Western Protectorate are the position of His Highness the Sultan of Lahej, the large number of treaty chiefs, and the general tribal atmosphere of the country. A glance at the map will show why the Sultan of Lahej is the most important chief in the protectorate, for his territory stands at the door of Aden, and through it land traffic from the Yemen and from a great deal of the protectorate must pass. It is the transit dues on goods that have made Lahej the richest state of the Western Protectorate, and with the money His Highness has managed to develop Lahej territory as a sort of private estate, which pays because it grows so much fruit and vegetables which are consumed in Aden. For he has water, and a good deal of the spate of Yemen pass with the Wadi al Kabir and the Wadi as Saghir, which flow through his territory.

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So that geography has played a great part in determining the part that Lahej should play in the protectorate. But much of the prestige that the Sultan enjoys to-day is due to his own wisdom. While strenuously guarding the internal affairs of his own Sultanate from external interference, His Highness has consistently given every possible help to His Majesty's Government in matters of defence and so on, and has also co-operated so wholeheartedly in the settling of disputes and political matters generally that he is almost universally accepted as an impartial arbitrator with no axe to grind. This personal achievement of Sultan 'Abdul Karim has made him the leader of the Western Protectorate, and it is really remarkable, as the general tendency of tribal chiefs in the protectorate is not to brook interference in their affairs from others.

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There are in the Western Protectorate twenty chiefs in direct treaty relationship with His Majesty's Government, and seven others who have agreements. There are about thirty-five all told who correspond directly with Government. The "nine cantons" are the 'Abdali, the Amiri, the Haushabi, the Fadhli, the Yafa'i, the Subeihi, the 'Aqrabi, the 'Aulaqi, and the 'Alawi—the original tribes with whom treaties were made. The other tribes in the Western Protectorate—the Audhali and the Beihani—did not come into treaty relations until later. But the Yafa'i, the 'Aulaqi, and the Subeihi are divided. In the Upper Yafa'i confederation there are treaties with the Upper Yafa'i Sultan, the Naqibs of Mausatta, the Dhubi Sheikh, the Maflahi Sheikh, the Hadhrami Sheikh, and the Shaibi Sheikh. In Lower Yafa' there is only one treaty, with the Sultan. In 'Aulaqi there are treaties with the Upper 'Aulaqi Sultan, the Lower 'Aulaqi Sultan, and

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18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

than Makalla and was, indeed, an important trading centre before that city even existed.[1]

Under the east wall there is a large open plain, over which the cemetery extends, with some *qubbas*[2] and many mosques at the edge of it. Sayyid Abū Bakr el-Kāf of Terīm has, close to it, a large piece of ground, where he has built a palatial guest-house for relations and friends travelling to and fro between Java and Terīm via esh-Shiḥr. El-Kāf is busy constructing a motor road from Terīm to esh-Shiḥr, which is complete but for the last stretch as far as the coast, a matter of three days by camel. If this junction can be effected, in spite of the aversion to it of the warlike Ḥumūmī Bedouins, through whose territory it passes for the greater part, then perhaps esh-Shiḥr will grow again to fit into her walls.

Before we left the town we made another call on the Governor in charge, who, with the help of the tax-farmer, a well-educated Indian, gave us a hearty, friendly reception. We were conducted past a strong guard of soldiers to an old-fashioned *madjlis*, where the shutters of the windows and the wooden supporting pillars were beautifully carved, and the ceiling painted white, red and black. With grateful relish we partook of tea and a great variety of sweets and of fresh and tinned fruits.

The population of esh-Shiḥr is officially estimated at 9000. It did not seem to us that it could be more than 6000. Yet, as the Westerner does not get to know how densely peopled the big Arabian houses are, our calculations remain fairly uncertain. The town has 36 mosques.

We were compelled to beat a hasty retreat before the rising tide. For safety's sake we were given an extra Ford car and some soldiers. The coral rocks were still just passable, but we stuck in the bed of the wādī. Finally, after much delay and much fruitless exertion, we got free, but there was no time left for the promised meal with our host of Sheḥēr, who

[1] Cf. *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *el-Shiḥr*.

[2] Qubba (قبة), is a dome, a cupola, or a cupola-shaped building.

case in Sēwūn and Terīm. A tax of a quarter of a *riyāl*[1] is levied on every camel load that enters the gate of Shibām; also 4 % on sales of houses or land is due to the Sultan. Of the produce of the fields which depend on rain, 1 % is earmarked for the state treasury, *i. e.* the Sultan's pocket. The Government levies no tax on lands that are irrigated by their owners' efforts. The Qeʿēṭī Sultan of Makalla owns much land in his kingdom: his tobacco fields at Ghēl Bā Wazīr, near Sheḥēr, bring in about 30.000 *riyāl* a year, and he owns many palm-groves in Wādī Ḥaḍramaut. Yet the greater part of his income comes from Bombay and Hyderabad, where he has extensive land and house property, and he receives 1500 *rupees* a month from the Niẓām of Hyderabad for his services as commander of the troops.

These great riches of the Qeʿeṭīs are the source of their power. The existence of a central authority is, in spite of many abuses, noticeable in their territory. It makes itself felt whenever urgently necessary and has no difficulty in holding its own against the Āl Kathīr, who are divided amongst themselves and are lacking in strong financial support.

The Sultan of Shibām only receives a salary from the Sultan of Makalla, to whom he is bound by family ties.

The military forces of the Qeʿēṭī consist, in peace time, of 5000 soldiers, of whom 2000 are negro slave soldiers. In Shibām only 100 of them are in regular service, whilst some 500 are on reserve in case of need. These latter live, as a rule, in good houses all around el-Qaṭn.

The Sultan estimates the number of souls in Shibām, el-Qaṭn and the villages between them, at 20.000. These are all the inhabitants of the State of Shibām, exclusive, however, of the Bedouin tribes who are allied by treaty with his Government.

We showed Sultan ʿAlī the books about Ḥaḍramaut that we had brought with us and a few English air photographs. It was then apparent how little the ruler and his entourage knew

[1] At the time of our visit a *riyāl* had about the same value as an Indian *rupee*.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
Hadhramout MM2

Sultan formerly held the hereditary appointment of Zamindar of the Nizam of Hyderabad's Army Levy, which recruited largely from Quaiti territory. Mukalla town has even achieved a 'Nationalist Party', which fomented a serious riot in December 1950.[1] Farther east lies the large Mahri Sultanate of Qishn and of Socotra Island (pop. about 8,000); the resident adviser strongly urged the Sultan in 1950 to spend more time in his mainland territory instead of leaving it to a younger branch of his family, while the Sultan lived on Socotra.[2] The most important ruler in Wadi Hadramaut is the Kathiri Sultan of Sayun, who has his own armed constabulary. A number of lesser chiefs have for local security purposes their own tribal guards, whose maintenance is partly financed by the British Government. In addition, the Aden Government established in 1937 a force of Government Guards in the Western Protectorate, and three years later in the Eastern Protectorate the Hadrami Bedouin Legion, which was modelled on the Arab Legion of what has since become the Kingdom of Jordan.[3]

The assistance of a British Director of Agriculture and his staff is available to those rulers who desire it, and financial help has been forthcoming since 1947 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. It was proposed to expend £410,000 in 1951–2 (including £82,000 for agriculture); only £23,000 of this would come from local revenue, the remainder to be provided by the British Government.[4] Drought caused a serious famine in the Hadramaut in 1943 and another less serious one in 1948–9. The region's economy was formerly helped to a considerable extent by remittances from Hadrami emigrants who had prospered in the farther East, but political changes in Indonesia and in the Hyderabad state of India have adversely affected this traffic, and the British authorities have had recourse to a large-scale scheme of irrigation by diesel-engined pumps. In the Western Protectorate the development of irrigated agriculture on over 100,000 acres at Abyan (40 miles north-east of Aden Colony) was begun with help from Colonial Development and Welfare funds in 1947 and was becoming self-supporting by 1952. It is a partnership on the Sudan model between the tenants, who receive half the returns, the landowners (the local states or private landlords), and the board of management, who divide the other half. Long-staple cotton of the Egyptian kind had become the main crop by

[1] GB, Colonial Office, *Report on Aden for the years 1949 and 1950*, p. 60.
[2] Ibid. p. 61.
[3] See A. M. Clark Hutchison, 'The Hadhrami Bedouin Legion', *Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society*, January 1950, pp. 62–5.
[4] See above, p. 112.

Y 241 318 378 to draw the bucket up and let it down again. The water is then emptied into a raised channel of clay and can be diverted into the appropriate field at will.

Y 361 342 136 Villages are built on the mountains alongside the valley. The village shown in the illustration opposite is built on the very top of a 9000-foot peak, Jebel Mishwara. The houses are like the most romantic of castles set on tall pinnacled heights over the narrow wadi-bed. In the less frequented valleys you may come upon a herd of baboons moving across the hillside barking at one another; they are much disliked as they make raids on the crops.

V 619 621 622 The organization of these highland communities, which are independent and difficult to control, is most complex. The tribe is subdivided into branches (*fakhidat*), numbering perhaps a hundred rifles, perhaps fifteen. Sometimes several tribes form a confederation bound loosely together under a paramount chief who has a greater or lesser degree of authority. Chieftainship is hereditary. In the Aden Protectorate larger groups are sometimes under the authority of a Sultan or an Amir. These Sultans are of the ancient nobility which often goes back to pre-Islamic times, some 1500 years ago, and generally reside in a central market town. Such are the Sultans of the 'Awdhalis, the 'Awlaqis, the Fadhlis of Shuqra, and of course the 'Abdali Sultan of Lahej near Aden. Tribal law is extensive and involved, with fixed penalties for every offence or transgression on a neighbour's rights. Relations between the tribesmen and the Sultans are also defined by custom. Cases involving tribal law are heard by the Sultan or his representative, or in tribal confederations, by the sheikhs. This tribal law, which is generally unwritten, consists of traditional judgments and penalties. I was fortunate enough to secure a copy of the traditional law of the 'Awdhalis when in Qubaidhah, but this was one of the rare instances when the law had been written.

H 565 671 622 692 671

H [451 622] 701 In most cases the actual authority of the Sultan extends little further than a certain radius around his residence. He taxes the people where he can, often disproportionately to their little wealth, and maintains a number of soldiers, irregular and often hereditary 'askar, as they are called, who hold a certain amount of land rent-free, and receive allow-

[See category 116, p. 68 -- Analyst]
p. 69 (A)

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

651 Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

Revenue

(a) Mukalla Government	. . . .	Rs. 21,47,767
(b) Sai'un ,,	. . . .	2,36,895
(c) Wahidi ,,	. . . .	78,333

Expenditure

652

(a) Mukalla Government	. . . .	Rs. 22,24,947
(b) Sai'un ,,	. . . .	1,91,199
(c) Wahidi ,,	. . . .	69,376

Assets and Liabilities

Investments Mukalla Government. . .	Rs. 35,00,000
Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) .	46,783
Investment Sai'un Government . . .	3,00,000
Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans) .	34,540
Investment Wahidi Government . . .	60,000
Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies .	Nil

[453 474]

Chapter 5: Currency and Banking

435 Indian rupees and riyals (or Maria Theresa dollars) are the currency used, the 1947 rate of exchange being Rs. 2.6.0. to the M.T. Dollar.

Chapter 6: Commerce

439 The principal imports are grains, flour, rice, dates, sugar, sesame oil, tea, kerosene, spices, cloth and cotton piece-goods, tobacco, cigarettes, soap, glassware, etc.; the principal exports are coffee, skins and hides, lime, cattle, ghee, sheep, goats, fish, etc.

Imports and exports for the Eastern Aden Protectorate during 1947 were as follows:

G. Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

652

Western Aden Protectorate	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	28,734
Government Guards	46,881
Subsidies to local forces	5,683
Medical	7,003
Education	2,982
Aden Protectorate College	4,161
Agriculture	12,121
W/T Establishment	1,171
TOTAL	108,736

Eastern Aden Protectorate	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	20,868
Hadhrami Bedouin Legion	16,305
Subsidies to local forces	7,782
Education	4,395
Medical	1,154
Agriculture	50
Miscellaneous Services Subsidies	720
Relief Measures	6,973
TOTAL	58,247

Revenue and expenditure of local governments in the Eastern Aden Protectorate which have adopted regular accounting methods are as follows:

	Revenue Rs.	*Expenditure* Rs.
Mukalla Government (Qu'aiti)	24,03,875	24,02,243
Kathiri (Sai'un)	2,84,820	2,54,004
Wahidi (Balhaf and Bir Ali)	1,00,308	95,860

Assets and Liabilities	Rs.
Investments Mukalla Government (Qu'aiti)	18,34,407
Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans)	34,783 7 0
Investment Kathiri (Sai'un) Government	3,00,000
Debts (His Majesty's Government Loans)	32,753 7 0
Investment Wahidi Government (Balhaf and Bir Ali)	60,000
Savings Banks and Co-operative Societies	Nil

651

The main heads of excise and taxation are: (1) transit dues, (2) crop taxation, (3) customs dues. Except for crop tax which is generally the *'ashar* or tenth part of the crop, taxation varies considerably throughout the Protectorate, although there is a marked tendency towards simplification and uniformity.

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hathaway MM2

APPENDIX 1

THE ABYAN SCHEME

Purpose

(a) To utilise all surface flow and suitable underground supplies of water in order to develop and maintain irrigation farming in the Abyan district.

(b) To organise and develop the production of food crops and cash crops, and to assist in their marketing.

(c) To increase the wealth and prosperity of the people and the Governments of the local States and of the Protectorate.

Background

The Abyan district is one of ancient development for irrigation farming. Centuries of insecurity made the area derelict, until the settlement of a feud and the entry of H.M. Government to maintain law and order.

From 1941 to 1943 efforts were made to restore, by traditional methods, irrigation of the southern part of the district. In 1943 Government entered the derelict areas of the southern and central sections and a four-year development plan was started to restore and maintain irrigation systems on traditional lines. Control was in the hands of the Department of Agriculture; funds were provided by the Colony of Aden as part of the increased food production campaign; irrigation charges of one-quarter share of the crop were levied.

In 1947 the Abyan Board was formed by an administrative order of the Governor of Aden. The Board was accepted by the two States whose territories were covered by the schemes. In December, 1948, a loan of £20,000 was approved from Colonial Development and Welfare funds. In August, 1948, a further £250,000 was approved. With these funds the Board embarked on the initial stages of its plan of development.

Organisation

Development was on a partnership basis between:

(a) Landowners (the States, private individuals or trusts) who provide land;

(b) owner occupiers and tenant farmers who provide the working animals, implements, general farming capital, and the labour for crop production; and

(c) the Board, a development authority, which undertakes the construction of irrigation works, maintains the irrigation system, and regulates the distribution of irrigation water. The Board also maintains special control over the cotton crop which is sold to the Board at agreed prices, processed in the Board's ginneries, and sold to the Raw Cotton Commission.

Up to 1949-50 agricultural production was primarily concerned with the cultivation of sorghum and sesame. Trials with long-staple

8:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

cotton, introduced in 1946, proved successful and this crop has now been chosen as the main crop for the area.

Payment for irrigation services has always been based on a crop share of 25 per cent payable to the Board. The present crop share and taxation on the crop, as laid down in an agreement dated 1st April, 1950, is as follows :

PARTY	LIVE LAND (*Land developed and cultivated for 5 years*)	DEAD LAND (*New land opened for cultivation*)
	%	%
State (Taxation) . .	5	10
Landlord . . .	20	15
Tenant . . .	50	50
Board . . .	25	25

To secure rapid development, traditional methods have been used while the land has been surveyed and existing canal systems aligned and new canals of improved design have been constructed. Diversion is still by traditional methods but regulators have been constructed in the upper part of the district.

Land and Water Rights

The Board does not own or control any land except building sites and experimental areas loaned from the local States and, in one case, rented from a landowner.

The Board controls the diversion and distribution of all flood water in the district. In the winter season the Board purchases the permanent flow of the Bana River from the Lower Yafai Sultan and his relatives and distributes this supply through the canal system to farmers who pay the customary crop share to the Board.

Tribal boundaries and settlements of title to the area have been ill defined in the past years of insecurity, but in 1951 final decisions were taken regarding tribal boundaries.

Survey

Since 1948 an area of 100,000 acres has been contour surveyed to a one metre interval. Geophysical surveys, the first as a reconnaissance and the second in fairly detailed form, have been made.

Irrigation Development

Development is in various stages. An area of approximately 50,000 acres of land is now controlled for irrigation farming, mainly on traditional lines. The normal flood flow to the area is expected to be sufficient to crop 30,000 acres yearly. In the 1951 flood a discharge of 224,000,000 cubic metre was observed to reach Abyan in the Bana River and this quantity, if correctly controlled, would have been sufficient for the irrigation of 50,000 acres. In actual fact only 30,000 acres were irrigated. The system is to direct flood water at speed, by diversion weirs made of brushwood and stone, into canals

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM21

The tribesman forms the real fighting strength of the Sultanate, and provides his own weapons, drawing ammunition—or its equivalent in cash—from the Sultan, when on state service. His hardihood, activity, and keen sight make him a formidable opponent. He has a natural aptitude for scouting and possesses remarkable powers of endurance, being independent of much transport, whilst the constant friction along the tribal borders engenders a high state of combatant training. The Sultan frequently uses one tribe to fight another as a punishment for raiding, but he cannot claim tribal service against tribal interests; any real emergency, however, will bring the tribesmen in. Individuals and small detachments will serve an alien for pay beyond the limits of their tribeship.

The tribesmen are really civilians (a term used for want of a better, though this word does not exactly translate the Arabic word *rawi*, plural *raya*), but prepared at a moment's notice to leave flocks and camels, farms or pasture, or trekking, when danger threatens clan, tribe, or Sultanate. They give no regular military service under any condition, nor do they practise the use of weapons, but content themselves with the reluctant payment of a tax and the unavoidable imposts of the Government that guards their lives and property. They may be divided into the following classes: merchants, of more or less influence and wealth; mechanics and artisans; the '*hejris*' or freed serfs, usually attached to some chief as agricultural labourers or to some master craftsman; and lastly, and lowest in the social scale, the slaves, the males serving as retainers or subordinate husbandmen and the females as domestic servants or attendants on children. The latter class, however, are slaves only in name, having usually their own *menage*, and they remain in one family from generation to generation; they are mostly Swahilis and Nubians. One other class needs passing mention—the *shāhids* or bards, whose duty, in the exercise of their profession, is to stimulate the tribal standard of chivalry by heroic strains of former prowess, or with stinging satire to lash a slothful ruler to martial vigour. When belligerent tribes are set in battle, it is the *shāhids* on either side who urge the courage of the combatants.

In religion two schools of the Sunni creed—the Hanifi (or philosophic school) and the Shafei—are followed, the latter, the nearest to the early Islamic tradition, being the more general. The practice of religion varies, of course, in different districts, and among some of the nomad races it is little more than a name. Speaking of religious observance among the people of this region as a whole, Bury says: 'The laity, while fanatical to the verge of

Admiralty Court in matters connected with the slave trade; his court is also a Colonial Court of Admiralty. The laws in force in the Settlement are, generally speaking, those of the Bombay Presidency, supplemented on certain points by special regulations drawn up to suit local conditions.

In general the local affairs of the Settlement (such as sanitation, conservancy, &c.) are managed by an Executive Committee (formerly Municipal Committee), subject to the control of the Resident: the funds for this purpose are raised by the levy of house tax, octroi, and other imposts. The management of the port is under a Board of Trustees, known as the Aden Port Trust, the principal task of which is to make arrangements for the deepening of the harbour so as to allow vessels of all sizes to enter and leave at all states of the tide. The funds are provided by the levy of tolls and wharfage fees on goods landed or shipped. The police are of two categories: land police, and harbour police. The former (officers and men) number 377—357 foot and 20 mounted; the latter number 12, including four inspectors and one or two administrative officials.

The normal garrison of Aden consists of the Aden troops, one hundred strong, mounted half on horses and half on camels; three companies of Garrison Artillery, two of which man the forts, while the third is employed with the movable armament; six companies of British Infantry; one battalion of Indian Infantry, less detachments at Perim and Sheikh 'Othmān; one Fortress Company; and the Aden section of Sappers and Miners. On the south-west corner of the peninsula are the forts Tarshein and Morbat, which cover the entrance of the harbour, and are garrisoned by two companies of Royal Garrison Artillery. The land side is protected by a strongly fortified position across the whole breadth of the isthmus. At the crater are various entrenched positions for infantry to oppose landings, while the ridge, running north and south from Hejuff to Viaduct Gate, forms a second line of defence and includes a redoubt at Ahman Khal, near the southern extremity.

The total revenue receipts of Aden treasury in 1914–15, under all heads—imperial, local, and municipal—amounted to 87½ lakhs of rupees (approx. £580,000). The chief sources of local revenue are: Aden Port Trust Fund, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Aden Settlement Fund, over 4 lakhs (£28,000); Local Supply Bills, 38½ lakhs (£257,000); Post Office, over 5 lakhs (£34,000); Excise, about 1 lakh (£6,300); Income tax, ¾ lakh (£5,000). The total expenditure was about 83½ lakhs (approx. £556,000).

In the Aden interior the tribes nominate their own chiefs or sultans. The Sultan is never a tribesman himself, but comes from

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

ceded to the British by the Sultan of Muscat in 1854, and were valuable only for the guano deposits found upon them, since exhausted (see further, Ch. VIII, p. 283).

II. The Tribal Confederations

Many of these occupy very considerable territory, but their limits and extent are vague and in no sense clearly defined; they are, further, subject to local variation with the changes in tribal power and the ebb and flow of politics. The system of internal tribal administration varies greatly, both in nature and degree, in the different districts. In the majority of the Confederations the ruler's authority over most of his subjects, with the exception of his personal retainers and entourage, is very slight. The Sultan of the *'Abdāli* exercises a more absolute authority over his tribe than other rulers, with the exception, perhaps, of the Sultan of the *Ka'aiti*. The chief of the *Haushabi*, if a ruler of strong will, would, both from the nature of his country and the character of his people, wield much the same authority over the majority of his tribe. In the *Amiri* country, which is a confederacy of various small tribes, the Emir's authority is only absolute over a comparatively small proportion. The *Upper Yāfa'* Sultan has little or no authority over his tribe so far as administration is concerned. Of the *Fadhli*, several of the sub-tribes are independent. The *'Aulaqi* have several rulers, while many of the outlying and nomadic tribes are practically beyond the control of their Sultans. The *Subeihi* are a law unto themselves. It will be seen, therefore, that the term 'administration' cannot be strictly applied to so heterogeneous a collection of peoples.

In the matter of revenue, that derived from the tribesmen is mainly from two sources—the collection of *'ushūr* or tithes, and dues on market sales—both payable to the Sultan or Emir. Beyond this, revenue in some districts is derived from dues on passing caravans. The scale of charges varies with the nature of the commodity carried: two dollars per camel load would, for example, be exacted for the passage of a caravan carrying coffee from Ta'izz to Aden through 'Abdāli territory.

The towns and settlements are built in general with provision for defence, but of fortresses, properly speaking, there are none in the interior. Nearly all Arab villages in the mountains consist of solidly built stone towers, almost invariably placed in commanding positions, and, when occasion requires, necessitating destruction by artillery or demolition by gun-cotton. The towers are invariably

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of